

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 933
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 11290

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, ID, PGOV
SUBJ: PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. SUMMARY: ABOUT HALF OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S ANNUAL TWO
HOUR INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH WAS DEVOTED TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS,
THIS YEAR WITH A MORE CONCILIATORY FLAVOR AS THE PRESIDENT
AVOIDED A DEFENSE OF HIS RULE TO DATE AND DIRECTLY ADDRESSED
THE PROBLEMS RAISED BEFORE AND DURING THE MARCH MEETING OF
THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR). HE UNDERLINED RE-
PEATEDLY THE NEED FOR IMPROVED SOCIAL JUSTICE.
HE ALSO ADDRESSED THE ISSUES OF CORRUPTION, NATIONAL
SECURITY MEASURES, PANCASILA DEMOCRACY, THE COURT SYSTEM
AND MYSTICISM AS RELIGION AND THE STEPS HE PROPOSED
FOR THEIR RESOLUTION. HE REVIVED THE OLD IDEA FIRST PRO-
POSED IN 1967 FOR LEGISLATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY, WHICH
IN ADDITION TO COVERING DEFENSE ACTIVITIES MAY REPLACE
THE ANTIQUATED ANTI-SUBVERSION LAW. HE GAVE LITTLE NOTICE
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TO HIS MOST VOCAL CRITICS, THE STUDENTS AND THE PRESS.
FINALLY, HE WENT TO SOME PAINS TO INDICATE THAT A PRESIDENT
RULES FOR ONLY FIVE YEARS, UNLESS REMOVED BY A SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE MPR (APPARENTLY IN REFUTATION OF ANY
SUKARNO LIKE AIMS OF DECLARING HIMSELF FOR LIFE),
BUT LEFT THE DOOR OPEN FOR POSSIBLE RE-ELECTION IN 1982. END SUMMARY.

2. PANCASILA DEMOCRACY. THIS YEAR SUHARTO SKIPPED MORE QUICKLY THAN USUAL OVER THE ERRORS OF THE PAST THAT LED TO HIS NEW ORDER GOVERNMENT AND DEALT AT SOME LENGTH WITH THEME OF PANCASILA DEMOCRACY, WHICH HAD BEEN FOCUS OF LAST MPR SESSION. "EVEN MORE THAN JUST LIBERTY, THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY...IS HARMONY," HE SAID, MAKING A SPECIAL POINT OF PANCASILA DEMOCRACY'S BEING BASED NOT UPON THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUALISM BUT UPON THE FAMILY PRINCIPLE AND THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL HELP. "THUS WE DO NOT CONSIDER INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY TO HAVE AN ABSOLUTE CHARACTER, BUT RATHER IT MUST ALWAYS BE HARMONIZED WITH SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY," HE CONCLUDED. THE PRESIDENT STRESSED HIS DETERMINATION TO IMPLEMENT THE "GUIDANCE FOR REALIZING AND PRACTICING PANCASILA" (P-4), WHICH HAD BEEN A CENTER OF CONTROVERSY AT THE LAST MPR, AND PROMISED THAT, AFTER A COMMISSION APPOINTED TO STUDY ITS APPLICATION HAD COMPLETED ITS TASKS, TRAINING OF PANCASILA CADRES FROM THE PUBLIC AT LARGE WOULD BEGIN. IN THE MEANTIME, CIVIL SERVANTS WILL BE GIVEN A "REFRESHER COURSE" ON THE SUBJECT. SUHARTO RAISED ONCE AGAIN THE ISSUE OF "KEPERCAYAAN" (A REFERENCE TO JAVANESE MYSTICAL BELIEFS) BUT INDICATED IT WOULD NOT BE ACKNOWLEDGED OFFICIALLY AS A RELIGION BUT PLACED UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE AS PART OF INDONESIA'S CULTURAL WEALTH. (COMMENT: WHILE MUSLIMS, WHO HAVE CONSIDERED THE P-4 A THREAT AGAINST THEIR POLITICAL IDENTITY, MAY BE CONCERNED OVER THE EMPHASIS GIVEN IT IN THE AUGUST CONFIDENTIAL

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16 SPEECH (FOUR OF THE 71 PAGES WERE DEVOTED TO IT), THEY CAN TAKE COMFORT FROM THE FACT THAT THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO STUDY WAYS OF IMPLEMENTING IT IN SOCIETY IS HEADED BY AN ELDER STATESMAN, RUSLAN ABDULGANI, WITH LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION AND IT INCLUDES A NUMBER OF 1945 GENERATION MUSLIM LEADERS. HENCE THE TIMING OF ACTUAL IMPLEMENTING ACTIONS ON P-4 APPEARS DISTANT. SUHARTO'S STATEMENT ON KEPERCAYAAN SHOULD ALSO DAMPEN MUSLIM CONCERNS).

3. CONSTITUTIONALITY: RETURNING TO A FAVORITE THEME OF CONSTITUTIONALITY, SUHARTO THIS YEAR GAVE A QUASI CIVICS COURSE LECTURE ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE, REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZING THAT CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT MUST FOLLOW CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE. HE SPELLED OUT IN PARTICULAR THE MEANS BY WHICH THE PRESIDENT COULD BE CHANGED EVERY FIVE YEARS ON THE BASIS OF AN ELECTION AND DECREE BY THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR) OR IN THE INTERIM, BY THE MPR'S WITHDRAWING THE PRESIDENT'S MANDATE IN A SPECIAL SESSION. (COMMENT: SUHARTO HAS WANTED ALL ALONG TO LEAVE A LEGACY OF A SMOOTHLY OPERATING CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE IN INDONESIA. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, HIS WORDS HEAVILY EMPHASIZING THE PRESIDENCY ARE BELIEVED TO BE A

REACTION TO THE CRITICISM LEVELLED AT HIM IN THE
PRE-MPR PERIOD AND THE REPORTS OF HIS ALLEGEDLY
SHAKY RULE. A WELL-CONNECTED INDONESIAN OBSERVER SAID THAT
SUHARTO HAS A STRONG PERSONAL AVERSION TO ANY ASSOCIATION WITH
EX-PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S POLICY OF DECLARING HIMSELF PRESIDENT FOR
LIFE, HENCE HIS EMPHASIS ON THE FIVE YEAR TERM AND THAT
SPECIAL PROCEDURES FOR IMPEACHMENT IN THE MPR SHORT OF THIS
TERM. AT THE SAME TIME, HE DOES NOT WANT TO PRECLUDE THE
POSSIBILITY OF BEING RE-ELECTED IF HE IS DOING A GOOD JOB.
IN THE LATTER RESPECT, HE MENTIONED THAT IN KEEPING WITH
THE CONSTITUTION, A PRESIDENT CAN BE RE-ELECTED BY THE MPR
WHEN HIS PERIOD OF OFFICE HAS ENDED)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 11290

4. THE 1982 ELECTION: SUHARTO SPOKE OF THE NEED TO BEGIN
NOW PREPARING FOR THE 1982 ELECTIONS. "WE NEED TO DEVELOP
GOOD POLITICAL MANNERS TO AVOID EXCESSES AND A TENSE AND
HEATED ATMOSPHERE," HE LECTURED. AND HE SPOKE VERY
VAGUELY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FORMULATING IMPROVEMENTS TO
EXISTING RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.
REFERRING TO THE PROBLEM OF THE PRESENT LEADERS FROM THE
GENERATION OF 1945 PASSING ON THE MANTLE, SUHARTO SAID,
"IN OR AT THE END OF THE EXT FIVE YEARS, THE CHANGE OF
GENERATIONS WILL BEGIN TO TAKE PLACE." (COMMENT: THE
REFERENCE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CHANGE OF GENERATIONS,
WHICH WAS HIGHLIGHTED IN THE ARMED FORCES NEWSPAPER'S

TREATMENT OF THE SPEECH SHOULD PROBABLY BE PLACED IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE MILITARY AS A WHOLE AND NOT RELATED TO
SUHARTO'S PERSONAL POLITICAL PLANS.)

5. NATIONAL STABILITY: IN WHAT SEEMED TO BE A SOFTER
APPROACH TO THIS OFT REPEATED TENENT OF THE NEW ORDER,
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SUHARTO SOUGHT TO CONVINCE HIS AUDIENCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT
EFFORT TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL STABILITY, POLITICAL STABILITY
IN PARTICULAR, DID NOT MEAN THE GOVERNMENT WAS DOING SO TO
MAINTAIN ITS OWN POWER, TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE PUBLIC, TO
KILL DEMOCRACY OR TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO. NATIONAL
STABILITY WAS ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOPMENT, HE ARGUED, AND ALL
KINDS OF CHANGE HAD TO OCCUR IN AN ORDERLY AND REGULAR WAY
ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF THE GAME, I.E. THE CONSTITUTION.
HE WENT ON TO SPEAK OF INTENSIFYING VIGILANCE AGAINST ALL
FORMS OF INFILTRATION, SUBVERSION AND OTHER DESTRUCTIVE
ACTS GIVEN INDONESIA'S EVER MORE OPEN SOCIETY, THE
STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD, AND THE PRESENCE
STILL OF EXTREME THINKING IN INDONESIA. "IN THIS CON-
NECTION," HE PROPOSED, "WE DO NEED A LAW ON NATIONAL
SECURITY AS A LEGAL FACILITY THAT IS ADEQUATE FOR PREVENTING
AND FOR TAKING FAST AND PRACTICAL STEPS AGAINST THE
PERPETRATORS OF CRIME IN THIS FIELD." SUHARTO MENTIONED
THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE
1965 EVENTS BUT ONLY IN PASSING, TREATING IT IN FACT
ALMOST LIKE A FAIT ACCOMPLI. (COMMENT: THE LAW ON NATIONAL
SECURITY THAT SUHARTO SPOKE OF APPARENTLY IS A
REVIVAL OF THE BASIC LAW ON NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY
WHICH THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT IN 1967-68
BUT WHICH RAN INTO TOO MUCH OPPOSITION FROM THE POLITICAL
PARTIES. IT WOULD BE BROAD LEGISLATION RELATED TO ALL ASPECTS
OF DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES, BUT ACCORDER TO A
KNOWLEDGEABLE INDONESIAN SOURCE, IT IS INTENDED THAT
IT WILL ALSO REPLACE THE 1963 SUBVERSION LAW, FROM OUR
POINT OF VIEW, A WELCOME MOVE.)

6. STUDENTS AND THE PRESS: SUHARTO ONLY BRIEFLY REFERRED
TO HIS HARSHTEST CRITICS IN THE MONTHS LEADING UP TO THE MPR
SESSION. "WE HOPE," HE SAID, "THAT THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
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EDUCATION AND THE INTELLECTUALS CAN ALSO MAINTAIN THE STANDING OF
THEIR ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE AND NOT DEBASE THEMSELVES INTO PLACES
WHERE RUMORS AND FICTITIOUS STORIES FLOURISH." REGARDING

THE PRESS, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED FOR A SOUND PRESS
BUT IN THE SENSE OF A "FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS".

7. CORRUPTION: "I KNOW," SUHARTO ADMITTED, "THAT A SHARP
SPOTLIGHT IS STILL BEING PLAYED ON THE HONESTY OF OUR
(STATE) APPARATUS." BUT HE MAINTAINED THAT MOST OFFICIALS
DID THEIR WORK HONESTLY AND DILIGENTLY AND ONLY A FEW
WERE DISHONEST OR MISUSED THEIR AUTHORITY. OPERATION
ORDER (OSTIB) WILL BE CONTINUED, HE PROMISED, AND THERE
WOULD BE GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO LIMIT THE ACTIVITIES OF
CIVIL SERVANTS IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND TO PROMOTE A
SIMPLE LIFE STYLE.

8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM: SUHARTO TALKED OF SPEEDING UP
COURT SETTLEMENTS AND OF ESTABLISHING FINALLY THE LONG PROPOSED
ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS FOR SETTLING INFRINGEMENTS
OF THE LAW BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS. LEGAL REGULATIONS, RULES
OF LAW AND MORE LEGAL BODIES AND PERSONNEL ARE NEEDED TO
DO SO. HE ALSO SAID THAT "SPECIAL ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN
TO LEGAL AID FOR THOSE UNABLE TO PAY FOR IT THEMSELVES."
SUHARTO'S COMMENTS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR, THE
DOMINANT THEME OF HIS SPEECH, ARE REPORTED SEPTTEL.
GARDNER

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